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ABSTRACT

The rapid pace of improving relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China during the late 1970s has been well scrutinized by mass media scholars, but most of the research has focused on the press coverage emanating from the United States, the People's Republic of China, and Taiwan, the major nations involved in normalization. A study examined how the press of the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) reported Sino-United States normalization during 1978 and 1979 through six critical events related to Sino-U.S. normalization in two leading daily newspapers of the ROK and the official party press organ of the DPRK (272 news stories were examined in all). Results showed that (1) only one story involving Sino-United States normalization appeared in the DPRK press, suggesting evidence for the "delaying hypothesis"; (2) more than a quarter of the normalization stories in the ROK press linked normalization to inter-Korean affairs; (3) there was some evidence suggesting that the ROK press reported normalization in a manner that promoted peace and understanding; and (4) normalization stories involving Korean affairs contained more "mixed" stories (with both positive and negative assertions) than those not involving Korean affairs, suggesting that when the ROK press linked this ambiguous external event to internal affairs it did so in an informative manner that weighed the positive and negative consequences of normalization on Korean affairs. (Three tables of data are included, and 83 references are appended.) (MS)

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NEWS COVERAGE DURING INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY:

THE KOREAN PRESS REPORTS SINO-U.S. NORMALIZATION

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ABSTRACT

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This study examined how the press of the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) reported Sino-U.S. normalization during 1978 and 1979. Only one story involving Sino-U.S. normalization appeared in the DPRK press, suggesting evidence for the "delaying hypothesis." More than a quarter of the 272 normalization stories in the ROK press linked normalization to inter-Korean affairs. There was some evidence suggesting that the ROK press reported normalization in a manner that promoted peace and understanding. More importantly, normalization stories involving Korean affairs contained more "mixed" stories (with both positive and negative assertions) than those not involving Korean affairs, suggesting that when the ROK press linked this ambiguous external event to internal affairs it did so in an informative manner that weighed the positive and negative consequences of normalization on Korean affairs.

NEWS COVERAGE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY

THE KOREAN PRESS REPORTS SINO-U.S. NORMALIZATION

The rapid pace of improving relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China during the late 1970s has been well scrutinized by mass media scholars. Most of the research, however, has focused on the press coverage emanating from the major nations involved in normalization: The United States, The People's Republic of China, and Taiwan (Allen, 1976; Chen, 1987; Karnow, 1974; Lin & Salwen, 1986; Pehowski, 1979; Wang, 1984; Wang & Starck, 1972). The drastic policy reversal by the United States and China to establish normalized relations was sure to have political repercussions on other nations whose policies were intertwined with these powers. This study examined how the press of the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) reported Sino-U.S. normalization during 1978 and 1979. The purpose was to investigate how these two small nations responded to this unexpected and ambiguous political event that could affect their political destinies.

Background

Both Koreas reacted to Sino-U.S. rapprochement, launched by President Nixon's historic visit to China in February 1972, with suspicion, if not shock and dismay (Chang, 1981; Kihl, 1973, 1984; Koh, 1974). To the DPRK, "a Chinese regime that was willing to compromise on the Taiwan issue could scarcely be relied upon to provide active support to North Korea's effort to unify Korea by 'any possible means'." The ROK viewed America's compromise over Taiwan as a "great blow" (Lee, 1981:98). Within a month after Nixon's visit, the ROK and DPRK engaged in meetings to discuss the problem of divided families. Scholars of Asian affairs have suggested that Sino-U.S.

rapprochement was a catalyst for inter-Korean rapprochement (Lee, 1974, 1981; Kihl, 1973; Koh, 1974). During the meetings, the DPRK demanded immediate movement toward unification, complete U.S. troop withdrawl from the South, and mutual North-South arms reductions. The ROK insisted on dealing with less grandiose matters, such as trade and diplomatic exchange. The official talks broke down in early 1973. Perhaps the initial expectations were too high. The ROK and DPRK have engaged in frequent on-again, off-again meetings and proposals after the breakdown of talks (Kim, 1986; Kihl, 1973; Koh, 1974).

One of the unfortunate political effects of Sino-U.S. normalization on the Korean peninsula was that the late President Park Chung Hee of the ROK felt that in the era of negotiation with communist states he had to consolidate his power to deal with the DPRK through a position of strength (Kihl, 1973, 1984; Kwak, 1985; Han, 1974). During October 1972, Park proclaimed martial law, dissolved the National Assembly, closed all universities, suspended political activities, and imposed strict press censorship. During this period, Park put forward a new constitution that did away with direct presidential elections. Park continued his draconian rule until his assassination at the hands of the director of the Korean CIA (KCIA) in October 1979 (Cumings, 1984; Ledyard, 1977; Kang, 1987; Olsen, 1980).

Linkage Politics

While Sino-U.S. rapprochement had implications for the balance of world power and international politics, it also had implications for both the ROK and DPRK. Each of these nations witnessed a bitter political enemy and staunch ally cease hostilities toward each other. In previous years, the ROK and DPRK maintained political power in the region by exploiting Cold War animosities and the superpowers' mutual fears (Park, 1975). How would the ROK

and DPRK react to this this new situation in which fear and animosity between the United States and China would now be replaced by negotiation? The notion of "linkage politics" is useful in understanding the ROK's and DPRK's reactions.

Rosenau (1969) put forth the linkage politics hypothesis, which states that there is a connection, or "linkage," between a nation's external and internal policies. A "linkage," Rosenau argued, involves "any recurrent sequence of behavior that originates in one political system and is reacted to in another" (p. 45). A nation may even attempt to control information about internal and external policy -- and the dissemination of information about policy -- for the purpose of national planning and public opinion management.

Proponents of systems theories of politics point out that overwhelming historical evidence indicates a connection between a nation's internal and external political behavior. Conflict theorists assert that nations' internal aggressiveness and external aggressiveness are closely related, although it is not clear which variable causes the other or whether the relationship is reciprocal (Coser, 1969; Huntington, 1968; Rosecrance, 1963; Tilly, 1978). Another school of thought asserts that external conflict can, under some situations, lead to internal cohesion (Holsti, 1966).

Rosenau himself has been criticized for much of the confusion surrounding the linkage politics hypothesis. After putting forth the hypothesis, Rosenau moved on to other areas of study (Smith, 1983). The lack of a unified theory of linkage politics has raised questions concerning methodological procedures, mediating variables, and the causal process. Researchers have used time-series analysis on multi-nation data to examine the process of change over time (Denton, 1966; Wilkenfield, 1971; Yough, 1984). Liao (1976, 1980) and Yough (1984), among others, have argued that examining aggregate data from

numerous nations may obscure differences among nations. As a result, they called for in-depth case studies of individual nations to study the linkage politics process.

A perplexing methodological concern in linkage politics research involves what variable or variables indicate internal and external political behavior. Researchers have examined such variables as official diplomatic communications (Holsti, 1972; McClellend, 1969), external conflict (Liao & Whiting, 1973), nations' stated foreign policies (Smoker, 1969; Smith, 1969), and speeches by political leaders (Holsti, 1966). Rosenau (1969) observed that the literature on foreign policy contains few references to nongovernmental variables that may influence a nation's policymaking. Some researchers have suggested that mass media may be useful nongovernmental variables for understanding linkage politics. Cohen (1963) and Bullion (1984) have argued that Western nations' mass media play a key role in relating foreign policy to domestic policy. Many researchers have examined how communist nations use mass media during crises to direct national policy because communist nations profess that mass media should be used as instruments to link internal and external policies. The study of crises, they argue, present optimal situations for the state to actively use the mass media to link internal and external policies.

Liao (1976) and Lee (1982) each found empirical support for the role of China's communist press during crisis situations in the linkage politics process. Liao analyzed the state-controlled People's Daily's reporting of press hostility toward the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cultural Revolution. Relying on correlation and regression analysis, he found that, as the Maoists' internal problems increased, the amount of hostility toward the Soviet Union and United States reported in the newspaper also increased. Liao suggested that government authorities manipulated and

increased communication about external conflict to divert attention from internal problems.

Lee (1982) observed that perhaps the linkage politics hypothesis could explain how the press reduces conflict. He analyzed the portrayal of America and Americans in the People's Daily during 1979-80, a period when China was forging improved relations with the United States. Lee's decision to examine linkage politics during changing international alignments -- a time of relative peace between the two nations -- casts new light on what we mean by "crisis." The crisis was the situation of ambiguous political change. Contrasting his findings to previous research on Chinese press coverage of the United States by Edelstein and Liu (1963) and Oliphant (1964), Lee found that the United States was portrayed as technologically superior to the Soviet Union and a staunch enemy of Soviet hegemony. It is no coincidence that case studies of the linkage politics hypothesis examined the Chinese press. As Lee (1982:63) wrote: "China's foreign policies are an extension of its domestic decisions derived in turn from an all-encompassing world view . . . . For this reason, the media images of America cannot be looked at in a vacuum but must be traced with reference to Chinese internal politics and/or its overt attitudes toward the Soviet Union."

Some research and anecdotal information dealing with communist press systems suggest that state-controlled communist news media may engage in "delaying tactics" until a proper official response to a crisis can be ascertained. Delaying the announcement of important information may be a way of using the press for linking -- or actively avoiding linking -- internal and external policies. Even with nonpolitical news, such as natural disasters, industrial accidents, and airplane crashes, the Soviet Union and other communist nations have been known to withhold making announcements until

adequate explanations could be formulated (Benn, 1987; Bugajski, 1987; Gaunt, 1987; Mills, 1982; MacFarquahar, 1973). Lin and Salwen (1986) found empirical evidence for the delaying hypothesis in their comparative study of Chinese, Taiwanese, and U.S. press coverage of Sino-U.S. normalization. The Chinese press withheld reporting any news of Sino-U.S. normalization until normalization was finalized. By contrast, the U.S. and Taiwanese press reported events and discussions of improving relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China during 1978 and 1979, well before normalization was finalized.

Even though the role of the press in linkage politics has usually been conceived as the reporting of intentionally manipulated foreign policy by rigid, monolithic states to achieve national policy goals, several media scholars have observed that news media in authoritarian and democratic states may also play a role in linking a nation's internal and external policies. Clark and Mowlana (1978) found that during the rule of the late Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi of Iran, Iran's national newspaper, Kayhan, was used to create favorable images of five West European nations. This reporting was in line with the Shah's policy of promoting Western technology in Iran and downplaying cultural, religious, and nationalistic aspirations.

Several political scientists have suggested that the press in democratic societies plays a role in these nations' foreign policy decisions (Cohen, 1963; Almond, 1960; Davidson, 1974; Larson, 1986). In one of the few empirical studies to suggest that the press in Western-democratic nations plays a role in linking internal and external policies, Chang (1984) examined prestige American newspaper coverage of Reagan's China policy before and after Reagan's inauguration. Chang suggested that the prestige press served to

alert the Administration to American public opinion, making Reagan's China policy more flexible and realistic in light of changing internal politics.

Though the linkage politics hypothesis may be applicable in both communist and non-communist states, different political processes appear to be at work. Comparisons should be made with caution. In non-communist societies, the state, while perhaps influential in manipulating the media agenda, does not own or have total control over the news media. A recent study by Sodurlund and his colleagues (1988) highlights the point that non-communist governments attempt to use the press to link internal and external policies through influence rather than outright control. They examined President Reagan's attempts to influence U.S. news agenda of the conflict in Central America during a four-month period prior to the Iran-Contra scandal. While their content analysis of The New York Times and Christian Science Monitor suggested that the president could use his considerable power of office to influence the issues reported in the press, the press actively sought out sources with anti-Administration views. As a consequence, while the Reagan Administration was able to obtain coverage on issues favorable toward its view (e.g., Cuban involvement in Nicaragua and Nicaraguan infringement on Honduras's borders), the newspapers also quoted sources dealing with anti-Administration issues (e.g., Contra atrocities and the peace process). This, and other studies dealing with "agenda control" by opposing groups in Western-democratic societies, suggests that it is important to examine which sources were contacted by the press (Cobb & Elder, 1971; Cobb, Ross, & Ross, 1976; Kingdon, 1976; Manheim, 1987). If some sources have better access to the media agenda, they may be more able to get their points across to the public than sources without access to the press.

This study examined ROK and DPRK press coverage of Sino-U.S. normalization during 1978 and 1979, when the United States and China were forging improved relations. The Korean peninsula presents an ideal setting for a comparative case study of press coverage of a critical international event indirectly involving both the ROK and DPRK. The two nations share a distinct common culture, but have vastly different political systems (Galtung, 1972, Noh, 1985; Henderson, 1973; Han, 1976-77; Choe, 1982). The press of the DPRK strictly adheres to Marxist-Leninist press theory, which asserts that the press should serve as an official party organ (Clippinger, 1981). The ROK, at the time of this study, had an authoritarian press system, with an independent but strictly controlled press (Mowlana & Chun, 1971; Mulugetta & Miller, 1985; Nam, 1978a, 1978b; Youm, 1986a, 1986b; Salwen, 1988) While the ROK press was by no means "free," it was not owned and operated by the state. Since the ROK's December 1987 presidential election -- its first free presidential election in 16 years -- there is reason to believe that the ROK is gradually tolerating greater press freedom (Youm & Salwen, 1988). As a result of the questions raised by the linkage politics hypothesis, the following research questions were examined and hypotheses were tested:

RQ1: To what extent did the ROK and DPRK press "link" Sino-U.S. rapprochement to matters dealing with the Korean peninsula?

RQ2: Were normalization stories linked to the Korean peninsula more negative or positive than other normalization stories?

RQ3: Which news sources were cited in normalization stories?

H1: Positive coverage of Sino-U.S. rapprochement in the ROK and DPRK press increased as the normalization process continued and the shock of normalization decreased.

H2: Negative stories of Sino-U.S. rapprochement in the ROK and DPRK press decreased as the normalization process continued and the shock of normalization decreased.

H3: The DPRK press delayed announcing matters concerning Sino-U.S. normalization until a proper response could be determined.

METHOD

This study employed a design of examining "critical events" during Sino-U.S. normalization because such events capture world and media attention. Critical events are similar to "crisis events," the central focus of many linkage politics studies. Six critical events related to Sino-U.S. normalization were examined in two leading daily newspapers of the ROK and the official party press organ of the DPRK: (a) the announcement of the proposal finalizing normalization (February 3, 1978); (b) U.S. arms sales to Taiwan (July 1, 1978); (c) the official announcement of normalization between the United States and China (December 16, 1978); (d) Deputy Prime Minister Deng Xiao-ping's visit to the United States (January 28, 1979); (e) approval of the Taiwanese Relations Act by the U.S. Congress (March 29, 1979); and (f) the initialing of the Trade Accord between the United States and China (May 15, 1979). All stories related to each of these critical events were analyzed one week before and one week after the day of each event, as well as the day itself. Deng's visit to the United States included an extra day (February 5) because the visit ended February 4 and was reported in the next day's news.

The ROK newspapers examined were the Dong-A Ilbo and the Choson Ilbo. Merrill (1983:130) cited both these newspapers as among the finest newspapers in the ROK, and perhaps even the Far East. The Dong-A, with an estimated circulation of about one million, was frequently at odds with President Park's

totalitarian rule (Merrill, 1983). It led the clarion call among the ROK's newspapers for greater democracy, civil rights, and press freedom. For the ROK press, the years examined in this study were trying times. Park subverted the legal system and used the Korean CIA (KCIA) as an extra-legal organization to silence his critics, many of whom were in the press. When the press could not be silenced or bullied into submission through physical violence and KCIA visits to newsrooms, the government put pressure on the newspapers' advertisers to withhold advertising in the Dong-A (Crabbe, 1975; Harrison, 1987; Hazelhurst, 1975; Lent, 1980, 1981; McBeth, 1987; The DPRK newspaper examined in this study was the Nodong Simnun. The Nodong is typical of a communist state-controlled newspaper. As the official organ of the Korean Workers' Party, "it serves as the authoritatitive mouthpiece for the supreme leader" (Clippinger, 1981:291).

Two coders, bilingual in Korean and English, read the microfilm of the Korean newspapers during the dates of this study and photocopied all stories dealing with Sino-U.S. normalization. They then translated these stories into English. The primary researcher then created a final English version of these stories from the translated copies that were used for coding. A sample of the stories were coded from the original Korean stories to check for inter-coder and cross-language reliability. The two translated copies were essentially the same in content, although there were some differences in words and phrases. Since this study focused on content, and not individual word analysis, these differences would not be expected to make a difference in the outcome of the study. One of translators selected 275 stories and the other selected 276 dealing with Sino-U.S. normalization in the ROK newspapers. They were in agreement concerning 272 stories that were examined in this study, 142 in the Dong-A and 130 in the Chosen. Only these stories that coders agreed

dealt with Sino-U.S. normalization were analyzed.[1] The DPRK newspaper reported only one story dealing with Sino-U.S. normalization during the dates examined in this study.

The unit of analysis was the story. Each story was coded for the date; dateline; news service, if any; primary news source, if any; whether the story concerned the ROK or DPRK or both; and the direction of the coverage regarding normalization. Direction was coded as positive if any positive assertion or assertions toward normalization were reported (i.e., positive consequences would occur as a result of Sino-U.S. normalization) and no negative assertion or assertions were reported. The story was coded as negative if any negative assertion or assertions were reported and no positive assertion or assertions were reported. If both positive and negative assertions were reported, even if there were more positive than negative or negative than positive assertions, the story was coded as "mixed."[2] Since many stories dealt with official visits and discussions, with no references to positive or negative consequences, these stories were coded as non-directional.

FINDINGS

Before addressing the research questions and hypotheses, a brief discussion of the stories in terms of which datelines were reported and which news agencies reported the stories is in order. Datelines indicate where the activities dealing with Sino-U.S. normalization took place. They also indicate which locations the press regarded as most significant in Sino-U.S. normalization. Stories carrying a Peking dateline may give a totally different perspective of Sino-U.S. normalization than those carrying a Washington, Seoul, Tokyo, or Taipai dateline.

A reliance on news agencies might indicate to what extent the Korean press viewed Sino-U.S. normalization as a "foreign" issue, since news agencies are often used for foreign news stories. News agencies, like datelines, can give a sense of perspective. For instance, Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI) are U.S. organizations. They are written primarily for U.S. and Western consumption. Therefore, it would not be surprising if AP and UPI reported a U.S. perspective of Sino-U.S. normalization more often than perspectives from other nations. By contrast, stories from the Taiwanese Central News Agency (CNA) may report a different perspective (Boyd-Barrett, 1980).

Three-quarters of the stories in the ROK press (n = 202) carried datelines. Among the stories with datelines, slightly more than half (n = 106) were in the United States. Washington, D.C., alone accounted for 43% of the datelines (n = 87). Only 13% (n = 27) of the stories carried datelines from Chinese cities. All but one of the Chinese datelines were in the capital of Peking. More datelines may have come from the United States than China because even during this period when China was opening its doors to the world, it still remained a relatively closed society and the international news agencies had better access to U.S. sources than Chinese sources. To whatever extent China was opening was likely to occur in its capital. That would account for the greater concentration of stories emanating from China's capital than the United States' capital. Deng's visit to the United States in early 1979 also led to stories with U.S. datelines where Deng visited. Taipai, the capital of the third (indirect) actor in Sino-U.S. normalization, Taiwan, accounted for 11% (n = 22) of the datelines. Only two stories carried a Seoul dateline. However, many of the stories emanating from Seoul or elsewhere in the ROK did not carry datelines.

A majority of the stories, 58% (n = 156), were reported by a news agency (or a combination of news agencies). Among the stories from news agencies, the four leading international news agencies in the United States (Associated Press, AP; and United Press International, UPI), Great Britain (Reuters), and France (Agence France Presse, AFP) accounted for 88% (n = 137) of the stories: AP accounted for 31% (n = 49); AFP, 23% (n = 36); UPI, 21% (n = 32); and Reuters, 13% (n = 20). Three of the stories came from the Taiwanese Central News Agency (CNA).

Concerning the research question that asked whether the Korean newspapers -- in this case South Korean newspapers -- "linked" Sino-U.S. rapprochement to matters concerning the Korean peninsula, 27.6% of the stories (n = 75) involved the ROK or DPRK or both (i.e., had Korean "actor-nations"). Among these 75 stories with Korean actor-nations, 27 dealt with the ROK; one dealt with the DPRK; and the other 47 dealt with both the ROK and DPRK, or the Korean peninsula in general.

The second research question asked whether stories linked to Sino-U.S. normalization were reported more negatively or positively than stories not linked to normalization. The answer to this question has implications for the news media's role in fostering international peace or hostility. It shows how the ROK press framed the issue of Sino-U.S. normalization. Results reported in Table 1 show the proportion of stories by direction and whether Korean actor-nations were involved. The attained chi-square value is significant at the $p < .01$ level. There were significantly fewer negative assertions in stories with Korean actor-nations than stories without Korean actor-nations ($Z = 2.38$, $p < .01$, two-tailed test). There were also fewer positive assertions in stories with Korean actor-nations than those without Korean actor-nations, but the difference failed to attain statistical significance ($Z = 1.59$, NS). But

stories with only positive and negative assertions accounted for a small proportion of the total number of stories. The major directional difference between stories with Korean actor-nations and those without, however, was that stories with Korean actor-nations contained proportionally more mixed stories than stories without Korean actor-nations ($Z = 2.43$, $p < .01$). The majority of stories, whether they involved Korean actor-nations or not, were non-directional stories ($Z = .43$, NS).

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

The third research question asked which sources were cited in normalization stories. This interest in sources of information contacted by the news media is important because it indicates who had control over media coverage. Table 2 shows the sources reported in Sino-U.S. normalization stories. With stories containing more than a single news source, the primary source (i.e., the one that was most relied upon) of the information was coded. More than a quarter of the stories ($n = 74$, 27.2%) had no source, and were recorded as "reporters' observations." In these stories, matters of Sino-U.S. normalization were reported and analyzed without reference to some contacted source.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

After reporters' observations, U.S. political sources (the White House, U.S. State Department, and Congress) accounted for 20.2% of the sources ($n = 55$). Non-political U.S. sources (stories attributed to U.S. civilians and media) accounted for almost 10% of the sources ($n = 27$). U.S. media sources

alone, such The New York Times and Newsweek, accounted for 17 of these non-political U.S. stories. U.S. sources were far more dominant than Chinese sources, which were cited in 16.2% (n = 44) of the stories. With the Chinese sources, however, the Chinese media accounted for 26 of the sources. It is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the Chinese media from official political sources, as is possible with U.S. sources, since the Chinese news media are part of the government. Taiwanese sources appeared in only 5.1% (n = 14) of the stories. ROK sources appeared in nine stories, with five of them being university professors who commented on the implications of normalization for the Korean peninsula. Twenty stories carried unidentified sources.

The first hypothesis stated that normalization stories would be reported more favorably as the normalization process continued and the the shock toward normalization decreased. The second hypothesis stated that normalization would be reported less negatively as the normalization process continued. Table 3 shows the direction toward normalization during two time periods. The first three critical events dealing with normalization were collapsed into time 1 because there were only 15 stories reported during the first two critical events. The last three critical events were collapsed into time 2 because only 15 stories were reported during the last two critical events. Thus, time 1 represents the period up to and including the official announcement of normalization. Time 2 represents the post announcement period, when the diplomatic niceties of trade and official visits were set in motion. The attainied chi-square value is significant at $p < .001$. The proportion of positive stories involving normalization did not differ between the two time periods ($Z = .33$, NS, one-tailed test). However, there was a smaller proportion of negative stories during time 2 than time 1 ($Z = 3.11$, $p < .01$). There was also a smaller proportion of mixed stories (Z =

3.10, $p < .01$) and a larger proportion of non-directional stories during time 2 than time 1 ($Z = 4.64$, $p < .001$).

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

The third hypothesis predicted that the DPRK press would delay announcing Sino-U.S. normalization. Since only one story dealing with Sino-U.S. normalization was reported during the periods examined in this study (December 17, 1978, the day after the official announcement of normalization of relations), even though there were numerous critical events suggesting normalization was coming, the delaying hypothesis was supported. The Nodong Simnum story, which reported Chinese press reports, was a straightforward announcement of normalization. It did not link Korean actor-nations to the story. It reported an official Chinese government announcement of the terms of normalization without comments, stressing aspects favorable to China, especially the United States' recognition of the People's Republic as the legitimate China.

CONCLUSION

The two leading ROK newspapers examined gave extensive coverage to the normalization of relations between the United States and China during 1978 and 1979. More than a quarter of the stories "linked" this external event to inter-Korean affairs by including one or both Koreas as actor-nations in stories. A majority of the stories, however, came from the international news agencies. The official press organ of the DPRK reported only one story dealing with Sino-U.S. normalization on the day after the official announcement of

normalized relations, suggesting evidence for the "delaying hypothesis" in the communist press.

Although stories linking Korean actor-nations to Sino-U.S. normalization reported proportionally fewer positive assertions than stories not linking Korean actors, there were also fewer negative assertions toward normalization in stories with Korean actors than those without Korean actors. The majority of stories were neither positive or negative, but "mixed" and non-directional stories. It is unclear from these findings whether ROK press' coverage of Sino-U.S. normalization helped create an atmosphere favorable toward peace and international cooperation. However, the fact that stories linked to Korean actor-nations contained more mixed assertions than those not linked to Korean actor-nations suggests that the ROK press reacted to this important but ambiguous international event by reporting it in an analytical fashion, showing the various positive and negative consequences when normalization was linked to Korean affairs.

More than a quarter of the stories did not contain news sources. Most of these stories were analytical pieces, opinion pieces or descriptive, event-oriented pieces that did not require news sources, such as straightforward accounts of state dinners and official meetings. U.S. political sources accounted for 20% of the stories. U.S. non-political sources, including the news media, accounted for another 10% of the sources. Chinese sources, while far fewer than U.S. sources, were included in ROK stories, and accounted for 16% of the sources. U.S. sources may have been more common than Chinese sources because even during this period of normalization China remained a relatively closed society compared to the United States. In addition, international news agencies had greater access to U.S. sources than Chinese sources. While U.S. sources were cited more often than Chinese sources,

Chinese sources were not totally neglected. This further suggests that the ROK press reported contrasting views of the possible consequences of Sino-U.S. normalization.

FOOTNOTES

1. To test for inter-coder and cross-language reliability, a random sample of 50 stories in ROK newspapers (25 in each paper) was re-coded from the original Korean-language stories and compared to the stories coded from the final English-language version. The coefficient of reliability (C.R.) was .90, using a widely used formula cited in Ole R. Holsti (1969:40):

$$C.R. = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

Where: M = Number of coding decisions on which the two judges are in agreement

N_1 and N_2 = Refers to the number of coding decisions made by judges 1 and 2, respectively.

2. This method for coding direction of coverage was suggested by Budd, Thorp, and Donohew (1967:54-55). Stories were originally coded as "qualified positive" or "qualified negative" if they had more positive than negative or more negative than positive assertions, respectively. They were originally coded as "balanced" if they had an equal number of positive and negative assertions. These three coding categories were collapsed into a single mixed category because the middle categories yielded a low level of inter-coder and cross-language reliability.

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TABLE 1

Direction Toward Normalization with and without Korean Actors

Direction	Korean Actors n=75	No Korean Actors n=197		Total N=272
Positive	6.7%	13.7%	Z = 1.59	11.8%
Negative	2.7	12.2	Z = 2.38*	9.6
Mixed	32.0	18.3	Z = 2.43*	22.1
No Direction	58.7	55.8	Z = .43	56.7

$x^2 = 12.15$ df = 3 $p < .01$

* $p < .01$ (two-tailed test of significance).

Table 2:

Sources Cited in Normalization Stories

Source		
Reporters' observations	n=74	27.2%
U.S. political	55	20.2%
Chinese	44	16.2%
Non-political U.S.	27	9.9%
Unnamed	20	7.4%
Officials in other nations*	19	7.0%
Taiwanese	14	5.1%
New media in other nations	10	3.7%
ROK	9	3.3%
	N=272	

* "Other nations" refers to nations other than The United States, China, Taiwan, the ROK, and DPRK.

TABLE 3

Direction Toward Normalization During Different Times

Direction	Time 1 n=120	Time 2 n=152		Total
Positive	12.5%	11.2	Z = .33	11.8
Negative	15.8	4.6	Z = 3.11*	9.6
Mixed	30.8	15.1	Z = 3.10*	22.1
No Direction	40.8	69.1	Z = 4.64**	56.7

$x^2 = 25.88$ df = 3 $p < .001$

* $p < .01$ (One-tailed test of significance).

** $p < .001$ (One-tailed test of significance)